NATIONAL
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HOW MANY HEADLINES DID YOU CAPTURE TODAY, BOYS?
The chiefs of staff of the American Inquisition, Rep. Francis E. Walter (l.) and Attorney General Brownell, are being kept busy these days dodging a developing counter-attack even as they continue their efforts to bury the Constitution. For news on the situation, see below and pages 3 and 4.

FOR AN END TO FALSE BRANDING

2 groups seek a quiz of un-American quizzers

CONGRESS has now been called upon to investigate the investigators. Corliss Lamont, vice-chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and the Methodist Federation for Social Action have formally petitioned both the Senate and the House to establish special committees to investigate the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The petitions charge both committees "with un-American and unlawful activities to the harm and injury" of both organizations by falsely listing them as "communist-front" groups, and call for "such punitive or restrictive action as the circumstances may be shown to warrant."

The Methodist Federation cites its listing in the House Committee's **Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications** and in the Senate Committee's **A Handbook for Americans:** "With an eye to religious groups, the Communists have formed religious fronts such as the Methodist Federation for Social Action."

"BILLS OF ATTAINDER": The petition calls this statement false and declares "it constitutes an interference with freedom of religion guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The petitioner is a religious organization devoted to promulgating the social gospel as contained in the New Testament. By falsely branding its activities as communist, the Committee, without truth or warrant, has caused loss of membership to petitioner and hampered or prevented it from extending its work and membership."

Both petitions call the Congressional listings unlawful Bills of Attainder and declare that neither branch of Congress "has the right to issue such a list." Each committee is charged with having "unlawfully stepped out of its legislative role" and having "engaged in a judicial function, without any pretense of due process."

"FALSE BRANDING": The ECLC says its listing in the House Committee's "Guide" is "an interference with the freedom of speech, association and assembly . . . The petitioner is a civil liberties organization devoted exclusively to the advancement of civil liberties and the support of the United States Constitution. By falsely branding its activities as communist, the Committee . . . is attempting to injure petitioner and to interfere with the constitutional rights of citizens and inhabitants of the United States."

The Methodist Federation also charged that the House Committee has exceeded the mandate given to it when created: "Power to make a list of alleged subversive organizations was specifically requested by the then Rep. E. M. Dirksen and, after Rep. Martin Dies, the original chairman of the committee, opposed such an unlawful grant of power, it was denied and has never, at any time since,

(Continued on Page 4)

WAR & PEACE

'Peace offensive' by Soviets stirs Western Europe

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

APPLICATION of the Eisenhower Doctrine to Jordan, the most unstable point in the whole unstable Middle East area, came at a time when the U.S. and its NATO allies are moving into a new phase of the nuclear arms race. Washington's new venture into "brinkmanship" has added to the uncertainties, confusions and fears growing here, following last year's Suez and Hungarian crises, and especially with the new emphasis on nuclear war since publication of the British White Paper on defense.

In this atmosphere, the recent Soviet diplomatic initiative has met a certain response. This "peace offensive" began with a series of warnings to NATO countries against permitting atomic and missile bases on their territory; continued with publication of the Soviet correspondence with Britain and France on the Middle East, clearly timed in relation to the Jordan affair, and with Soviet Premier Bulganin's letter to British Prime Minister Macmillan. It was climaxed on the eve of the NATO Council meeting in Bonn by new Soviet concessions on disarmament.

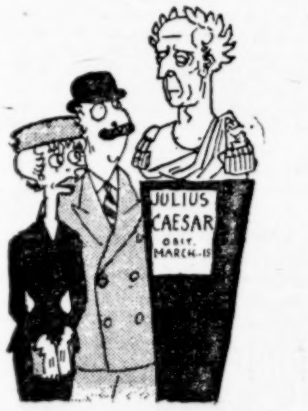
DULLES' REPLY: The Bulganin letter to Macmillan urged: (1) at least a temporary ban on the testing of nuclear weapons; (2) an all-European collective security treaty; (3) a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact; (4) discussion of former Prime Minister Eden's proposed demilitarized zones in Europe.

Washington's answer to this campaign, at least to its earlier stages, appears to have been delivered by Secy. Dulles, whose major foreign policy speech in New York last month revived the favorite theses of 1951 "(liberation" and no-place-for-neutrals-in-the-world) and the strong language of the Cold War. At a subsequent press conference, Dulles made it clear Washington would not agree to top level negotiations with the U.S.S.R. until Moscow surrendered on Germany and Eastern Europe. His remarks seemed to have been aimed not only at Western Europe but also at the hopes raised at home by Harold Stassen's comments on disarmament negotiations.

BIG ELECTION ISSUE: West European governments, following Washington's lead, bluntly rejected Soviet warnings against atomic and missile bases. But for public opinion these warnings have been given reality by proposals to equip W. Germany with nuclear arms; and most of all they have been underlined by the Goettingen manifesto of German scientists (see p. 7). This manifesto has stirred great interest here.

Chancellor Adenauer's angry reaction

(Continued on Page 8)



Lancaster in London Daily Express
"Ah well, if it hadn't been for Brutus he'd probably have ended up trying to run the world from Rome golf course."

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THE CADILLAC CRUSADE REPLACES THE ROLLS ROYCE

The facts on the Jordan crisis

By Kumar Goshal

JORDAN'S KING HUSSEIN held a press conference on April 30 amid further steps to tighten control over the country; his replies to correspondents' questions, the decrees he passed and the atmosphere in which all this occurred revealed not only the basic problem of Jordan but of the whole Middle East.

While Hussein was struggling to maintain his throne, the U. S. Sixth Fleet in the not-too-distant port of Beirut, Lebanon, was creating an ominous atmosphere. Fighter planes of the carrier Forrestal were flying practice missions with live ammunition, unusual in such maneuvers. The planes had been on an around-the-clock alert since arrival.

Vice-Admiral Charles R. Brown, commanding the Sixth Fleet, was talking darkly of "sticks of paratroopers." "As Marines crowded Beirut's bazaars and bars," **Wall Street Journal** correspondent Philip Geyelin reported (5/3), "the Pentagon was releasing a photograph of the same warriors wading ashore in month-old NATO exercises on Gallipoli Peninsula in Turkey." As the 6th Fleet was about to depart, Brown announced that the U. S. amphibious forces in Beirut would be temporarily doubled.

KING CRACKS DOWN: In this tense atmosphere, Hussein added fuel to the fire by banning more than 50 trade unions and civil service employes' associations and announcing that trials of 200 arrested political leaders would begin before military tribunals within a few days. He closed an Arab refugee teachers' college at Ramallah near Jerusalem and arrested the principal, Jamil Boudairi, as a suspected Communist. The College was run by the UN Relief and Works

(Continued on Page 9)

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THE MAIL BAG

The real conspiracy

NEW YORK, N. Y.

On April 13, the **N. Y. Times** published an article by C. L. Sulzberger, in which he exposes the Communist "conspiracy" in these words:

"Both communism and Islam are conceptions of a universal society based on equality and striving toward social justice; both think of reform in terms of cataclysm, the sudden change that will make all things new; in both social idealism goes together with moral protest against the laxity of the world."

On the front page of the **N. Y. Herald Tribune** of April 14 there is an article exposing the open conspiracy of the Ku Klux Klan to take over America for White Christians only. Hitler followed the Klan's example of preaching hatred against the Jews until six million of them were exterminated.

The real "conspiracy" existing in our world today is the one promulgated by a small minority of greedy and selfish human beings who want the good things in life only for themselves, and will do everything in their power to make everyone else miserable, even if they have to ignite with their burning crosses the holocaust of the most devastating world war.

Miriam Stern

Who's loony now?

ELKVIEW, W. VA.

(Carbon copy to **Gazette and Daily Mail**, Charleston, W. Va.)

I am in quest of an explanation as to why a nation which calls itself the richest nation on earth, the most powerful, and boasts of having the best doctors, the best scientists, the most resources, the best standard of living, the best hot dogs and the freest people, should also have the most insane and mentally ill people in any country? If the Soviet government is as horrible as the hucksters and the maniacal jack-asses of all the communication mediums say, it is only logical to assume that they, and not we, should have more.

Curtis L. Morris

The Cenotaph

WINNIPEG, CAN.

As I stood by the Cenotaph and saw the heads in reverence bowed for those who lie in Flanders Fields, I thought of inconsistent man; who worships God and destroys his fellow man.

Inconsistent man, who prays for peace and makes the guns and shells; and plans new Flanders Fields with their crosses row on row. He calls in science and the arts to destroy his fellow man.

Inconsistent man who has the S.P.C.A. for the love and care of cats and dogs, and the H-bomb to rend his fellow man.

We call in the Red Cross and all the arts of man to try and ease the pain and suffering we have caused our fellow man.

With jellied gas and bombs we destroy the homes; men, women and babies all—and then to ease the pain our hearts may feel we rebuild and patch and mend the maimed and burned and blind as best we can.

Not all the gifts or charity can restore the broken hearts and lives.

Consistent man, should you take your stand for your fellow man, whatever his color, race or creed, you will be branded **Red**, red as the hand of Cain.

Oh! Inconsistent man, where is thy soul for the love of your fellow man?

(After reading "Peace — It's horrible," GUARDIAN, 4/1).

B. C.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

SAN DIEGO, Calif., April 24 (AP) — A newsman checking on the county sewage situation asked a Camp Pendelton public information officer for the volume of sewage handled by the big Marine base.

"That's classified," replied the officer. He explained it would "tend" to reveal the number of personnel at the base.

—St. Louis
Post-Dispatch, 4/24

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anonymous, Rolla, Mo.

Forget the guns

BREEZY BANKS, N. C.

Yesterday I was talking to a robust and handsome service man who has been stationed for some time in Germany, five miles from the Czechoslovakian border.

"Did you ever cross the border?, I inquired.

"Yes," he grinned. "We crossed the border and drank beer with the guards."

"How did you find them?"

"Good guys. They didn't want to be there any more than we did."

I like this picture of our American guards crossing the border to share friendly fellowship with the guards beyond the "Iron Curtain." American guards who cross the Iron Curtain to exchange friendship with Red guards are loyal to a higher allegiance than hate can ever muster. Hands across the border! Forget the guns . . .

Vernon Ward

The Jenkins case

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

My name is Junesh Jenkins and I am the mother of two small children, 2½ years and 17 months old. My husband, Grady Jenkins, has been confined in a tubercular hospital for almost a year and is now awaiting an operation.

On April 6, I was arrested on a bench warrant as a fugitive from justice from Baton Rouge, La., charged with violating an ancient state criminal anarchy law and a more recent state subversive registration law, both of which are obviously unconstitutional on the basis of the Supreme Court ruling in the Nelson case. I was taken to jail and, although bond was being arranged, was removed to Baton Rouge (85 miles from New Orleans) but was finally released under $3,000 bond that night.

On April 8 my husband was arrested in the hospital and chained to his bed on similar charges, this time filed in New Orleans.

On April 11 I was arrested again by New Orleans deputies on charges filed in New Orleans but was released that day upon posting $15,000 bond. The authorities reduced bond from $15,000 to $7,500 for each of us so that on April 22, after two weeks of being chained by the leg to his bed, my husband was finally released.

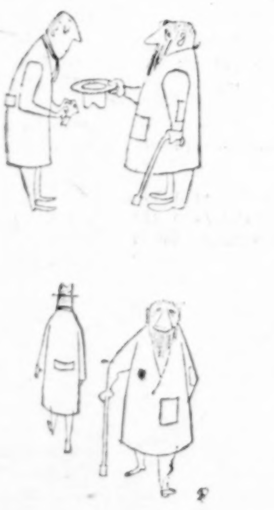
Not a word of this has appeared in any of the big daily papers, not even in those august periodicals which boast of all the news that's fit to print. The wider significance of this move should not be lost sight of. This is part and parcel of the campaign by Eastland and the Dixiecrats of interposition and nullification, of negating and ignoring the Supreme Court, of challenging and defying the power of the Federal government to help the Negro people in their rising struggle for equality and freedom.

Many decent people will, I am sure, wish to raise their voices in protest against this latest atrocity of the Dixiecrat South. A flood of letters to Governor Long in Baton Rouge from all over the country would have a healthy effect on the outcome of the case. Remember, we are facing 25 years in prison, which would mean a death sentence to my husband.

Any moral or material help would be greatly appreciated. It takes a lot of financing for bail and legal costs and we may have to go to the Supreme Court to defeat this underhanded secession. There are no Public Defenders in this country yet, only Public Persecutors.

Mrs. Junesh (Judy) Jenkins
217½ Bourbon St.

P.S.—Any contribution may be sent to Dr. Oakley C. Johnson, 75 W. 89th St., New York 24, N.Y.



Ludas Matyi, Budapest

The philanthropist

Freedom Fighter

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The $1 per month I used to send to the defunct Freedom Associates I will now send to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (new address, 49 E. 21 St., room 405, New York 10, N.Y.).

Outstanding proof that we have not a democratic republic is the fact that each and every racial and national group is forced to form a society in our country to protect their human and legal rights.

C. P. W.

Wayne—not Adlai

NEW YORK, N. Y.

You close your atomic arms race article (April 22) with these words: "Anybody know Stevenson to talk to?" Why not Wayne Morse, that wonder worker from Oregon? Surely the GUARDIAN would not be turning Adlai into one of the perpetual candidates like Bryan and Dewey! And certainly no one can take a good long laboratory look at Morse and miss the wonder of his turnover in Oregon. Everything about the man, what he actually did to rancid reaction in Oregon, is proof positive of character and integrity, of courage and good faith and that priceless quality of imagination! So—Morse for President! Beginning now!

Horace Casselberry

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REPORT TO READERS

The bishops of China

THE POWELL-SCHUMAN CASE is better known to GUARDIAN readers than to any other sizable group of Americans. Most recently Anna Louise Strong wrote extensively on it (GUARDIAN, 4/1), urging a national committee to take up their defense.

Bill (John W.) Powell is the newspaperman son of the famed John B. Powell, longtime editor of the **China Weekly Review** in Shanghai, who died a decade ago from mistreatment in Japanese concentration camps. When World War II ended, Bill Powell went back to Shanghai and reopened his father's paper; met and married an UNRRA worker, Sylvia Campbell, who pitched in on the paper with him; and hired an American free-lance journalist, Julian Schuman, as an associate.

Powell's publication stayed in business as a monthly after the Chiang regime was ousted in 1949. During the Korean War the **Review**, which had an extensive readership in the U.S., unwittingly exposed a U.S. Defense Dept. fraud that the Chinese-N. Korean forces were taking no prisoners by publishing thousands of names of UN prisoners of war. The magazine later aired fully the Chinese-N. Korean charges of germ warfare, including confessions of captive U.S. airmen who said they took part in dropping the germs.

THE FIRST PENALTY for monkeying with the Pentagon's buzzsaw was a crackdown on the **Review's** circulation in the U.S. The Powells had to shut up shop and come home. They had hardly been home a month when the Jenner Committee hailed Bill to Washington for a full-dress going over. This pretty much fizzled, but Jenner demanded that Powell be prosecuted for interfering with the Korean war effort. Indictments came in April, 1955, against Mr. and Mrs. Powell and Schuman, who had also returned to this country.

This March Federal Judge Goodman in San Francisco gave the defense 90 days to justify its demand to take depositions from witnesses in China by showing when and where the witnesses would be available and what testimony they were expected to give. The 90 days will be up late in June.

MEANWHILE the defendants have received a letter from five Christian bishops and many other religious leaders in China expressing "deep concern over the very unjust indictment," urging that the case be dismissed and praying that "many Christian friends in the U.S. and in other countries will stand behind you." The letter discloses that a defense committee has been set up in China and that "a number of churches and Christians in Wuhan and Shanghai have responded to the appeal for funds." The letter concludes:

"We believe the forces that brought the false accusations will not prevail against the growing indignation of world opinion over this case. Let us also through this letter express our good will for the American people and our deep desire for friendship with them."

The signers include Y.T. Wu and Wu Yi-fang, top leaders of the Three-Self Movement of China's Protestant churches; T.C. Chao, Yenching Union Theological Seminary; Bishop Robin Chen, chairman, Episcopal House of Bishops; M.E. Bishop Z.T. Kaung; Marcus Cheng, president, Chunking Theological Seminary, H.H. Tsui, general secretary, Church of Christ; Episcopal Bishop Michael Chang of Fukien; Bishop K. H. Ting, Nanking Union Theological Seminary; George K.T. Wu, Methodist leader and chairman, National Christian Council; Y.C. Tu and Cora Deng, general secretaries of China's Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.'s; C.W. Li, pastor, Community Church, Shanghai; U. Usang Ly, secretary, Society of Friends, Shanghai; Kiang Wen-han, Y.M.C.A. leader and general secretary, Christian Literature Society; Episcopal Bishop K.T. Mao of Kiangsu; S. C. Li, Y.M.C.A. leader; Cheng Chien-yen, Episcopal leader; Liu Liang-mo, Y.M.C.A. national program director.

EVIDENTLY CHINA is pretty far ahead of us in getting a national committee started to defend the Powells and Julian Schuman. However, there is a Defense Fund, waiting for you to get behind it. The address is P.O. Box 1808, San Francisco 1, Calif. Make checks payable to Charles Mattox, Treasurer.

—THE GUARDIAN

SEPARATED FROM HIS WIFE AND 7 CHILDREN BY WALTER-McCARRAN ACT

The case of Rodolfo Lozoya

By Carl Braden
Special to The Guardian

CHICAGO

FIVE YEARS AGO Rodolfo Lozoya, a militant trade-unionist, was a leading candidate for the role of Ramon in **Salt of the Earth**, dramatic story of a strike in New Mexico. Today he is the central figure in a real-life drama that points up the meanness and cruelty of the whole witch-hunt in America, especially as it applies to Mexican-Americans.

Lozoya's wife and seven children, all native-born, are living on relief in Chicago while he is barred from the U.S. as an "excludable alien" under the Walter-McCarran Act. This despite the fact that he has lived and worked in the U.S. for 29 years and is a disabled Air Force veteran of World War II.

He is forced to stay in Juarez, Mexico, awaiting a hearing while his family is fed, housed and clothed by friends and the Chicago Welfare Dept. One of the children has a chronic disease that requires almost constant medical care.

AT THE BRIDGE: Last Jan. 12 Lozoya received word that his mother was near death from a heart attack at her home in Juarez, just across the Rio Grande from El Paso, Tex. He left Chicago and went to his mother's bedside. When it became apparent that she would recover, Lozoya sought to return to the U.S. by crossing the bridge at El Paso on Jan. 21. He was refused re-entry with this notice:

"You are temporarily excluded from admission to the U.S. under Sec. 235 (c) of the Immigration and Naturalization Act. Your application for admission to the U.S. . . . will be referred to the Regional Commissioner for consideration. A copy of this decision will be furnished you and your representative. If you enter the U.S. while this temporary exclusion notice is still outstanding you will subject yourself to arrest and deportation, and possible criminal prosecution."

This was signed by B. R. Oates, acting chief, Entry and Departure Section, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Dept. of Justice, P.O. Box 1650, El Paso, Tex.

WHERE IS DADDY? Mrs. Lozoya said her husband was later instructed to appear at a hearing in El Paso Feb. 14, but he didn't go because he lacked legal counsel. Apparently he waived no rights by his failure to appear. It was April before Mrs. Lozoya was able to employ an El Paso attorney with funds raised through the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The attorney learned that the charge was membership in the Communist Party—whether past or present, he didn't know.

A FAMILY DIVIDED
Rodolfo Lozoya is barred from returning to the U.S. from Mexico while his wife and seven children (top, l.) are on relief in Chicago

As Lozoya's "temporary" exclusion stretched into months, his family's plight worsened. The smaller children asked about their father every day. His absence seemed to affect even little Libertad, so-named because she was born on Mexican Independence Day last Sept. 15.

Angela, the ailing child, looked forward gloomily to her sixth birthday May 10. "Daddy's birthday, too," she said over and over (he will be 49 on May 18). The Lozoyas planned a joint birthday observance on May 14, knowing it wouldn't be much of a celebration with Daddy's chair empty.

SHE WON'T MOVE: Mrs. Lozoya said she first went to a Roman Catholic priest for aid, but he advised her to take the children and move to Mexico. She got the same advice when she first applied at the Chicago Welfare Dept.

"I made it plain that I would do no such thing," Mrs. Lozoya declared. This gentle, modest woman apparently convinced the authorities that she meant what she said, for she was soon assured of help.

However, relief payments were held up until she had spent the last penny of the family's small savings. Then she began getting $89 a month, but the checks were slow in arriving. Milk alone costs the family over $50 a month. Welfare officials want the oldest daughter, Armida, to leave school to work in order to lessen the burden of the agency.

Lozoya, a devoted father and husband, had found a fairly decent apartment for the family a few months before he went to Mexico. Before that a fire had forced them out of a damp three-room flat and they had to live for a time at the Mexican Social Center. It is difficult enough to find housing in Chicago; it is almost impossible for a family with seven children.

GOOD UNION MAN: Lozoya was employed at Grand Sheet Metal Products Co. He was a shop steward for Local 1150, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, and had a reputation for standing up for the men in his department. Union officials describe him as a sound trade-unionist who tended strictly to business in the plant. He was formerly a member of Local 1010, United Steelworkers, Indiana Harbor, Ind.

Lozoya was attending a meeting of Mexican-Americans at El Paso in 1952 when Herbert Biberman, who later produced **Salt of the Earth**, heard him speak. Here is the way Biberman describes the occasion:

"I was not alone in being impressed and moved by the quality of his address. Here, I felt . . . was a man of great intelligence, of palpable integrity. He had in both interior and exterior qualities, the mark of a responsible member of and spokesman for the extraordinary people about whom we were developing a screenplay."

After much persuasion, Lozoya finally agreed to take the part of Ramon. However, it was later decided that it would be better to give the role to a member of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers local (Juan Chacon) involved in the strike portrayed in **Salt of the Earth**. Biberman said of Lozoya:

"I have never met anyone more attached to his family, more responsible as a father and husband. I have never known an individual more representative of decency, honesty, humility and courage . . . To think of this man barred from his family—of this abiding and deep love cut from its roots is heart-rending."

Friends of Lozoya, mobilizing to reunite the Lozoya family, are forming a Lozoya Committee. Meantime, any help should be tendered to Mrs. Consuela Lozoya, 1572 S. Albany, Chicago 23, Ill.

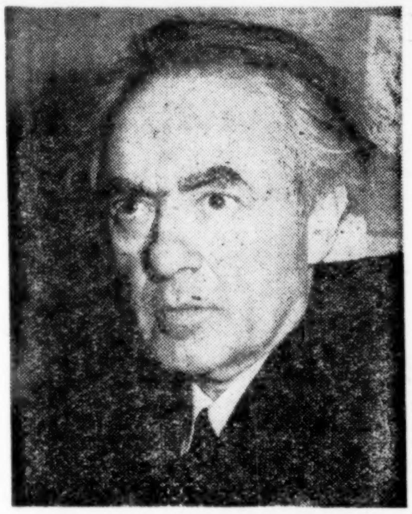
NATVIG TERM LIFTED

Recanter recants her recantation

A GOVERNMENT witness who recanted her original testimony and was sentenced to a prison term of eight months to two years for perjury has now won suspension of the prison term by recanting her recantation.

Mrs. Marie Natvig testified in October 1954, that she knew Edward O. Lamb of Toledo, O., as a Communist in the mid-30s. In February, 1955, she testified that her earlier charges were a "pack of lies." The case involved Lamb's application for a TV station license renewal and was heard before the Federal Communications Commission. The hearing examiner recommended renewal, but the case is still pending before the FCC.

Mrs. Natvig appeared on April 29 in Washington before Federal District Court Judge Alexander Holtzoff, the same judge who had earlier imposed the prison sentence. He accepted her recantation of her recantation and held that she had been "emotionally destroyed by this harassing cross-examination [by Lamb's attorney] which delved into every detail of her life." He placed her on two years probation.



DR. OTTO NATHAN
A matter of conscience

MILLER TRIAL ON MAY 13

Nathan convicted; Peck sentenced; both plan appeal

DR. OTTO NATHAN, executor of the estate of Albert Einstein and Associate Professor of Economics at New York University, was convicted of contempt of Congress on April 30. Sentence was deferred indefinitely and he was continued in $1,000 bond pending an appeal.

Dr. Nathan, 63, was tried in Washington without a jury before Federal District Judge Edward M. Curran, who rejected a defense motion for a judgment of acquittal. He was accused on three counts of contempt for declining under the First Amendment to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on June 12, 1956.

Dr. Nathan declined to answer questions concerning past or present membership in the Communist Party or whether he was acquainted with a person named before the committtee as a Communist. At the time of his questioning, the committee had described itself as investigating "fraudulent procurement and misuse of passports." Defense attorney Leonard Boudin argued at the trial that Dr. Nathan had never been accused of either of these offenses, that the committee had no legislative purpose in questioning him, and that, in any case, passport legislation was within the jurisdiction of the House Judiciary Committee and not the House un-Americans.

A MATTER OF CONSCIENCE: At the committee hearing Dr. Nathan said: "Although my political beliefs and associations have been widely known for many years, and although I have always believed in stating them publicly at any time and place of my own choosing, I am not able, as a matter of conscience and principle, to answer any questions by this committee as to my political beliefs or my political and private associations."

When he was indicted last February, Dr. Nathan said he would "consider it an honor and a duty to vindicate my position in our courts and, if necessary, to fight the matter through to the Supreme Court." At that time he protested "derogatory" remarks made about him by committee chairman Francis E. Walter and said: "I hereby make the public request that Congressman Walter repeat those derogatory remarks about me outside the Halls of Congress to make it possible for me to challenge him in court."

Playwright Arthur Miller was indicted at the same time as Dr. Nathan; his trial is scheduled for May 13.

On the day of Nathan's conviction, N. Y. **Times** deskman Seymour Peck, convicted on a similar charge on March 26, was fined $500, given a 30-day suspended sentence and put on probation for one year. His $1,000 bond was continued pending appeal.

SCANDAL AIRED

The Klan opens shop in Britain

Special to the GUARDIAN
LONDON

FEW BRITONS had ever heard of Waco, Texas, and those who had could only guess how to pronounce it. This month, transatlantic fame came to Waco through the efforts of one of its citizens named Horace Sherman Miller. The story was broken by the Co-Operative organ **Reynolds News** and picked up by newspapers across the Channel. A Ku Klux Klan branch had been opened in Britain with "the thousands of colored Commonwealth migrants who have peacefully settled here" as its main target. "White Aryans" were being invited by Waco's Miller to join up through British contacts.

How it all began

The furor that has been let loose in England over the KKK grew out of a request from the GUARDIAN to Cedric Belfrage in London to inquire into the situation.

* * *

Reynolds reporter Kenneth Wanstall reproduced a "Join the KKK—for Racial Privacy" sticker with Miller's Waco box number which is appearing on British city streets. He described literature now flooding the British mails with "a mixture of racial hatred and blasphemy" and being distributed by Miller's agents in London, Birmingham and other communities. On one leaflet appeared a photo of Miller showing him as a fresh-faced young man with a dour expression.

Posing as a potential recruit, Wanstall interviewed one of Miller's London agents and was told that British KKK membership already amounted to "several hundreds—I myself have handled several dozen applications in the last month.

STEPHEN FRITCHMAN
The background is wider

Anonymous activities have already been carried out, aimed at awakening the British public to the dangers of swarms of niggers being allowed to come in."

THE JEWS LATER: On the Klan's attitude toward Jews, the agent said:

"We would be sticking our necks out to attack them openly. The Jew-boys are too powerful and influential. They will be taken care of by individual and anonymous action from time to time."

A Miller contact in London who is named in one of the KKK leaflets is Ian G. W. Shaw of Kilburn, a piercing-eyed, leathery-faced aircraft-factory employe with three children who is addressed in letters from Waco as "Klansman 235." More disclosures on the Klan's British drive came from the Tory **Daily Sketch** and **Mail** and Liberal **News Chronicle**, the former reproducing a membership application form. The form bears the words, "God Save the Queen," over a pledge of loyalty to the Klan, and invites applicants to send ten shillings to the Waco box number. A legal expert said that the non-identification of the printer of the form, and the sending of cash to Waco, are both illegal, and that there might be grounds for a criminal libel action even though the propaganda is not directed against individuals.

On May 2 the scandal was aired in Parliament when Labourite Fenner Brockway asked Home Secy. Butler what action would be taken "in view of [the KKK's British] plans and the lynchings and beatings which have taken place in America." Butler said the KKK activities here were "very small" but promised "a very close watch," and agreed to bear in mind 'the time when Sir Oswald Mosley's skulduggeries were said to be very small and they led to a lot of disorder" (Labourite J. Snow). Maurice Orbach, MP, chairman of the Natl. Council Against Racial & Religious Discrimination, called on the Attorney General to act.

BRITISH ACCENT: Wanstall called at the U.S. Embassy to inquire what action U.S. authorities would take, bringing proof of the link between Miller and his British agents. Embassy official Cimperman, in charge of legal and FBI activities in Britain, expressed concern and said he hoped to get evidence, with the aid of Scotland Yard, that Miller was infringing U.S. mail laws and "possibly" committing fraud.

By the week-end, after Wanstall's scoop, he and Brockway and Orbach had all been camera-interviewed by CBS, ABC and British television services. Orbach made the point to CBS's Howard Smith that "you can deal with an adolescent at this sort of stage but not later when he is running wild." A British TV company presented on May 2 an interview with Miller himself, who turned out to be an elderly man lying (for no explained reason) in bed wearing dark glasses.

After a few remarks from Miller about Communist plots, the interviewer turned to the camera and said: "My only comment—WHACKO!" Unless further reports are received on daily life in Waco, that is how it is destined to be pronounced in this part of the globe.

—**Cedric Belfrage**

Quiz the quizzers

(Continued from Page 1)

been granted."

COURT SUIT LOST: The Methodist group points out that in 1956 it lost by a two to one ruling in a special U.S. Court a suit for an injunction against the Senate "Handbook." That decision held that the courts were unable to grant relief from an action of the legislative branch of the government and that the complaint would have to be taken directly to Congress.

The Rev. Loyd F. Worley, president of the Methodist Federation, said in announcing the petition that his group is a voluntary membership organization founded by eminent Methodist Church leaders in 1907, more than a decade before the formation of a Communist Party in this country. Dr. Worley said:

"The Federation will not commit suicide to please reactionary elements either in church or state. The MFSA will continue to raise issues for discussion and action and will seek 'to deepen within the church the sense of social obligation —in the spirit of Jesus.' Pilate at least gave Jesus a chance to defend himself. The Congressional committees make slanderous listings and false charges without permitting the accused persons to offer either explanation or denial."

CANADIAN PETITION: The Federation's petition is the second censure by a religious body of the Senate committee within a month. Recently the United Church of Canada requested Congress to "stop politicians and partisans from assassinating the characters of innocent men," following the suicide of Canadian diplomat E. Herbert Norman.

The House Committee has also been under increasing criticism.

COURT UPHOLDS LAW, 4-3

California Protestants unite to abolish loyalty oath

By Reuben W. Borough
Special to the Guardian
LOS ANGELES

TWO DEVELOPMENTS in the past month involving the loyalty oath for tax exemption may have moved California's embattled churches closer to victory in their fight against the oath.

1. The California Supreme Court, by a 4-3 majority, upheld the constitutionality of the loyalty oath, but dissenting opinions pilloried the oath as a technique of totalitarianism and laid the basis for a possible invalidation by the U. S. Supreme Court.

2. The almost unanimous voice of official Protestant Christianity in the state demanded the abolition of the loyalty oath in petitions to the state legislature urging the adoption of the repealer Assembly Bill 2214 and the defeat of a proposed anti-civil-liberties measure, Assembly Bill 1526.

Keep the tradition

Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman had this comment on the State Supreme Court decision:

The First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles will now proceed to the United States Supreme Court. Historic religious freedom as envisaged by Jefferson and Madison is in absolute jeopardy and the Unitarian movement with it. One cannot have a little tree of freedom in a forest of conformity. Taxing the outspoken pulpit and the free-conscience congregation while giving exemption and privilege to the silent and docile church is the sure and certain end of anything remotely resembling the Judeo-Christian tradition in American society. Those of us in all churches and temples who feel the compulsion of liberty in religion will support the next step in resistance with the same ardor which characterized our efforts these past three years in the California struggle.

* * *

MAJORITY VIEW: The controversy in the State Supreme Court grew out of legal actions by the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles and other church groups and individuals. The logic of authoritarianism was marshaled in the legalistic majority decision of Justices Shenk, Schauer, Spence and McComb. The dissenting opinions—one from Justice Traynor and Chief Justice Gibson and the other from Justice Carter—went straight to the issue raised primarily by the First Unitarian Church: freedom of thought and advocacy.

Said the four majority justices in essence: It is the duty of the tax assessor to find out whether the First Unitarian Church or any other party similarly claiming tax exemption has a right to it—that is, to find out whether they advocate overthrow of the government by force and violence. The loyalty oath is a proper requirement—a device to enable the tax assessor to dispose of the question without the necessity of time-consuming and expensive litigation. They summed up:

"In the present case there is nothing in the . . . enactments, either constitutional or statutory, which interferes with the free exercise of religion. The plaintiff is affected not because it is a religious organization but because it is a tax payer favored in the law by an exemption for which it has refused to qualify."

DISSENTING VIEWS: Said dissenting Justice Traynor and Chief Justice Gibson: "The issue narrows to whether a state can properly restrain free speech in the interest of promoting what appears to be eminently right thinking. A state with such power becomes a monitor of thought to determine what is and what is not right thinking. Great as a state's police power is, however, the United States Supreme Court has yet to sanction its breaking into people's minds to make them orderly."

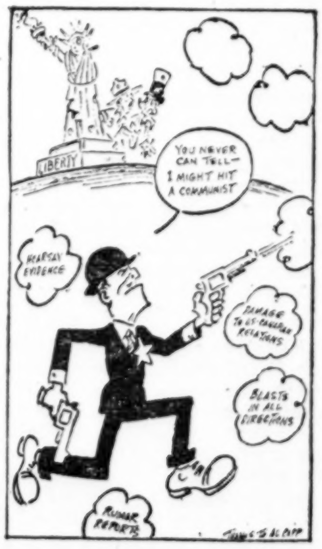
"[The loyalty oath law] arbitrarily assumes that those who seek tax exemptions advocate overthrow of the government unless they declare otherwise. The provisions infringe the right to engage in such advocacy without reference to its seriousness, inhibit free discussion short of advocacy, and paralyze the belief that the government has no right to require professions of innocence in the absence of proof of guilt. A law with such consequences cannot stand in the face of the constitutional guarantees."

AN ABSURD SITUATION: Justice Carter's dissent asked: "Where is the [clear and present] danger so far as churches and veterans are concerned? And does the denial of a charitable exemption constitute a reasonable attempt to save this country from revolution? Or does the oath involved just constitute an unconstitutional invasion of freedom of speech?"

He answered: "In my opinion it constitutes an unconstitutional invasion of freedom of speech, with the absurdity of the entire situation pin-pointed by the thought that any embryo revolutionist would surely not hesitate to subscribe to such an oath."

With a generous word of praise for the Los Angeles Unitarian Church, Justice Carter said:

"Devotion to Americanism often calls for something other than conformity. The plaintiff in the present case knew that to protect the Constitution, indeed merely to invoke its protection for all Americans, required courage and that hardihood to challenge a wrong done under color of authority was as indispensable to good citizenship as would be, in other circumstances, unquestionable obedience."


LIBERTY
YOU NEVER CAN TELL— I MIGHT HIT A COMMUNIST
HEARSAY EVIDENCE
DAMAGE TO US-CANADIAN RELATIONS
BLASTS IN ALL DIRECTIONS
RUMOR REPORTS

Collins in Montreal Gazette
"Time to curb the Fearless Fosdick committee."

JEFFERSON TO RUSH: In concluding he quoted Jefferson's letter to Benjamin Rush dated April 21, 1803:

"It behooves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself to resist invasions of it in the case of others; or their case may, by chance of circumstances, become his own. It behooves him, too, in his own case, to give no example of concession, betraying the common right of independent opinion by answering questions of faith which the laws have left between God and himself."

CIVIL RIGHTS SILENCE

NAACP award to Geo. Meany puzzles Negroes

By Eugene Gordon

THE NAACP Legal and Educational Fund announced in mid-April that the 1957 winner of its Philip Murray Award was AFL-CIO head George Meany, "for the great contribution he has made, as an individual and as president of the united labor movement, in the struggle to achieve equality and justice for all Americans." He will be given the citation, with $1,000 for his favorite charity, at New York's Roosevelt Hotel on May 16. The question being asked by many persons — especially among Negroes — is: When did Meany wage that struggle which warranted that honor?

The N.Y. **Amsterdam News** (4/27) found it "painfully difficult to question or criticize the courageous, keen-thinking leaders of the NAACP in many matters, and most particularly when the matter is one of civil rights, where they are specialists in the field." But, the paper said, the award to Meany "was downright wrong." It added: "We find nothing in his record to merit this award. On the contrary, we find much, far, far too much, that should prevent Mr. Meany from ever being so honored by a Negro group, particularly a civil rights group . . ."

THE CODE: Available records are obscure, when not altogether lacking, on the matter. One account does represent Meany as declaring that "the way to handle this [segregation] question is [not] to run away from it"; the segregation question, he said, was one "on which men should stand up and be counted, irrespective of any office [they happened to occupy] or campaign [they are engaged in]". He said that before the AFL-CIO Executive Council in February, 1956. One year later the Council adopted a Code of Ethical Practices.

It is generally conceded that the investigations of Congress' rackets committees scared the Council into adopting its Code in Miami Beach last Jan. 31. Under the Code it is unethical to steal or misuse union health and welfare funds, to tolerate "corrupt influences [and] the undermining efforts of communists, fascists or other totalitarian agencies," or for a union official to allow his interests to conflict with a union's. One may presume—as many a Negro has indicated—that membership in the Ku Klux Klan or the White Citizens Council—or the practices of these groups—is not unethical under the Code. They are not mentioned, nor is there any record that Meany mentioned them in Miami.

WHERE WAS MEANY? Since the Code was published four months ago, 22 Montgomery Negroes have been fined $55 each for defying the city's unconstitutional jimcrow bus laws. Montgomery Negro churches and parsonages have been bombed. White steel worker Lamar Weaver has been driven out of Birmingham because he spoke up for integration. Koinonia, Georgia's 14-year-old model interracial cooperative farm, has just about been destroyed by racist attacks. President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon have ignored Negro pleas for "just a word" against those miscarriages of justice and acts of violence. Nor has there been either action or "just a word" from Meany.

GEORGE MEANY
"Nothing in his record"

WISCONSIN DECISION: As late as last month Milwaukee Local 8 of the Bricklayers Union refused to accept as members Randolph Ross, mason contractor, and James Harris, a mason working for Ross. Both are Negroes. The Wisconsin Supreme Court upheld the union as being a voluntary association "to which members may be admitted by mutual consent but into which applicants, either by their own efforts or by the aid of courts, cannot force themselves against the will of those already members." If Meany spoke up nobody heard him. Justice Thomas Fairchild's vigorous dissent didn't stop a Cleveland union two weeks later from denying membership to a Negro.

Cleveland's Local 38 of the Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers refused for months, despite a law suit, to grant membership to Theodore Pinkston. This qualified electrician was therefore unable to work at a city job. James B. Carey, president of the Intl. Union of Electrical Workers, declared publicly that he would resign as chairman of AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee in protest.

To stop further washing of dirty underwear in the open, and embarrassed by Carey's stand, Meany announced his personal intervention and IBEW's promise "to have this problem of discrimination settled by the local in conformity with the policies of the AFL-CIO, the IBEW and local ordinances by July 1."

AN ESSENTIAL ALLY: The Negro's attitude, as expressed in his newspapers, is that the trade union movement is an essential ally in his fight for equality. He defends and supports it as a whole; chooses for special commendation such AFL-CIO unions as Chicago's Joint Board or Fur and Leather Workers and her United Packinghouse Workers of America and New York's District 65; and the independent United Electrical Workers, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union of the West Coast.

But the Negro's view is that organized labor cannot be an effective force in the freedom fight so long as its own ranks—to quote a Chicago **Defender** writer—"is bespoiled with this abominable practice [of jimcrow]".

The **Defender's** Ethel Payne wrote from Washington (4/27) that Carey's action had forced Meany to call "an AFL-CIO Civil Rights Conference" in Chicago on May 23. At that time Meany would have a chance to justify the NAACP's confidence in him.

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'IT STINKS TO HIGH HEAVEN'

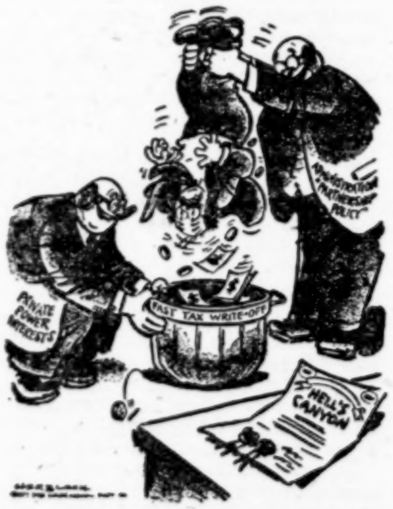
Ike blamed for huge tax handout at Hells Canyon

By Lawrence Emery

THERE WAS A ROAR in Congress last week to equal the sound of the Snake River crashing through mile-deep Hells Canyon itself. To those who have fought for years to preserve the continent's last great site for a monumental multi-purpose dam, the Eisenhower Administration had now crowned its giveaway program: a fast tax write-off gift to a private power company already awarded a 50-year license to build two little dams at Hells Canyon where the single big one ought to be.

Said Wayne Morse (D-Ore) on the Senate floor: "This Administration is so rotten that it stinks to high heaven; and the time has come to draw the issue with this Administration in regard to such a handout to American big business. It is a shocking betrayal of a public trust. It cannot be justified."

STEAL FROM TAXPAYER: The new Hells Canyon storm blew up after the Office of Defense Mobilization on April 25 granted the Idaho Power Co. five-year tax write-off certificates amounting to a minimum of $65,206,094. The small dams, to be built by the company for private profit, were classified as a "national defense" project. The actual effect of such a quick tax write-off is that of a government grant of an interest-free loan. Morse likened this to the "immorality" of a union leader who taps his union treasury for an "interest-free loan" for his personal enrichment and said that "when the Eisenhower Administration deals in this kind of executive immorality, it steals, based on moral terms, from the taxpayers of the United States."



Herblock in Washington Post
"We don't want you to feel left out of this."

He added that "it is about time that in the Congress a few members have the courage to protest and to call this Administration what it is—an Administration honeycombed with political immorality."

ONE WAY LEFT: The government tax grant came after the Supreme Court on April 1 upheld the validity of the Idaho Power Co.'s dam-building license by refusing to review a lower court ruling. Only Justice William O. Douglas favored a review. The Hells Canyon site now can be preserved for full development of the Columbia River Basin, with public ownership of its power potential, only by Congressional action.

Spurred by the furor set off by the tax grant, the Senate Interior Committee headed by James E. Murray (D-Mont.) on April 30 approved a bill authorizing Federal construction of a high multipurpose dam at Hells Canyon. Murray said of the quick tax write-off that the Administration is "putting up enormous cash bonuses for its big-business allies." The measure now goes to the Senate floor, where it was defeated last year by a vote of 51 to 41.

The Committee approval was given by voice vote, with the division along party lines. Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R-Utah) announced immediately that he would file a minority report along with other GOP members.

MORSE BLAMES IKE: Sen. Morse, declaring that "the time has come to place the responsibility directly where it belongs —right on the shoulders of Dwight D. Eisenhower," summed up his stormy criticism of the latest giveaway:

"The record of the Administration on Hells Canyon shows utter bias against full development that pays its own way and for underdevelopment that wastes resources. It has shown again and again that it has no use for the facts, no interest in the merits of the issue; only political expediency, sell-out, and immorality characterize the pattern of this Administration in this field.

"The quick tax write-off subsidy to Idaho Power is a shocking political theft from the people's pockets to enrich a private utility and enable it to waste the best dam site in the country.

"I warn the American people today from the Senate that they should not support this giveaway, and I warn this Administration that once the American people find out the facts they will hold this Administration to account. I warn that the people will not pay for this giveaway."

WHAT PEOPLE LOSE: Criticism was equally harsh in the House. There Rep. Albert C. Ullman (D-Ore.), who credits his election largely to the Hells Canyon issue, spelled out the costs of the tax grant to the taxpayers:

"I think it is high time that the American people took stock of what they can expect to receive as a result of this deal. The American people lose $30,500,000 in taxes over a period of five years. They must pay $22,900,000 in interest charges over a period of 50 years. Idaho Power receives a net windfall of $329,000,000.

"And for this dubious exchange, what does the Pacific Northwest receive:

"We lose 500,000 kilowatts of year-round cheap power by destroying the possibility of a high Hells Canyon dam.

"We lose 2,800,000 acre-feet of vitally needed storage for flood control and downstream power generation.

"We lose the possibility of irrigating one million acres of upstream land through potential power revenues from a high dam at Hells Canyon.

"We lose recreation and fish and wildlife facilities for millions of Americans.

"We lose, at a time when the region is undergoing an economic slump, thousands of jobs and new industries that would produce more goods and pay more taxes to the Federal Government."

"PERVERSION OF POLICY": Rep. Ullman called for an immediate Congressional investigation of "this latest perversion of public policy." He said: "We cannot afford to stand by while the agents of this Administration through conspiracy with the private utility monopoly desecrate our remaining natural resources. Congress has a right to know the reasons why this Administration is subsidizing Idaho Power Co."

The nature lovers

IN JOHANNESBURG recently two news items appeared on the same page.

One was an account of the trial of a farmer who had beaten a native to death. The farmer pleaded that he did not know the native was sick at the time, and he was fined £10.

The other news item was about a woman who had gone into the famous wild flower sanctuary park at Caledon, and had picked a bunch of flowers to take home. She was fined £15.

—**Racial Unity Bulletin**, London

THE INVITATIONS TO THE FUNERAL ARE PREMATURE

How the Left shapes up in Italy

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

SIGN READS: "THIS MACHINE WILL NEVER PRODUCE FOR WAR"
The workers of Italy are acutely aware of the facts of life

Questa macchina
non produrrà mai
per la GUERRA

Italian crisis

THIS STORY by Cedric Belfrage was written before the Italian crisis of last week which forced the resignation of Premier Segni and his cabinet. The cause of the crisis was the decision of Deputy Premier Saragat to withdraw the Social Democrats from the coalition government.

SINCE THE CONGRESSES of Italy's Communist and Socialist parties last December and February, capitalist newspapers have been throwing new energy into the process of liquidating the Italian Left by angled headline, out-of-context quote and dubious statistics. Talks with leaders of both parties, during a brief visit in Rome, convinced me that the funeral invitations are premature. "Stalin revelations" and Hungary have exacerbated ideological clashes to make the Left's effective functioning more difficult. At the same time the governing Catholic-Social Democrat coalition — its old majority lost, and refusing to seek any support from the Left—is paralyzed and threatens to break up.

As Socialist leader Nenni noted at his party's congress, after 10 years of economic expansion Italy's per capita income is $300 annually ($170 in the countryside); 20% or more of the workers and peasants earn under $150, while less than 1% of the population get more than $1,500; some 2½ million are unemployed. If 31% of the people are still illiterate, scant literacy is needed to see the bankruptcy of capitalism. While no immediate alternative to Catholic Party rule is seen, the time is overripe for a popular government; and between now and next spring, when there will probably be general elections, the spotlight is on Left realignments which will make such an alternative possible.

SARAGAT RETREATS: Developments continue to pivot around the possibility of reunification of the 800,000-strong Socialist Party, which until recently co-operated closely with the CP, with the small Social Democratic Party headed by Deputy Prime Minister Saragat. In February reunification seemed imminent; but the Socialists had no sooner shown their readiness for it than Saragat stiffened his price beyond any acceptable point, demanding that they support the Atlantic Pact as is and join actively in the "red" hue-and-cry. Hoping to hasten the merger, Social Democrat secretary Matteotti tried to force his party out of the coalition government, in which it has had little function other than as cover for Catholic reaction. When this failed, he and the entire party executive resigned on April 17, within a few weeks of the party's annual congress.

PIETRO NENNI
The spotlight is on realignment

A Socialist leader of the Left—"but not of the party's extreme Left, which wants co-operation with the CP on any basis"—told me that if the Catholic-Social Democrat coalition could be broken, progressive Catholic forces would come forward and be reinforced. This might make possible an eventual government of Socialists and Catholics with CP support on some points.

CATHOLIC REAPPRAISAL? Just now there are signs in some Catholic circles of active reappraisal of relations with socialism nationally and internationally. This year for the first time a friendly message came to the Socialist congress from a high churchman, the Cardinal of Venice. (Since 1951 both Socialists and Communists have been officially barred from churches.) Better relations with the socialist world will, it is reported, be a major subject of the September conference of Jesuits, who are said to be especially concerned about the Church's too-narrow collaboration with capitalism.

Catholic whispers are heard in Rome (where the increasing rarity of Cardinal Spellman's visits is gratefully noted) that collective societies have come to stay and the Church must show it can live with them.

THE ROLE OF U.S.S.R.: What about the "split" between Socialists and Communists? At the top leadership level a definite difference has emerged on the issue of the U.S.S.R.'s place in and relation to the world socialist movement. But to date there are no emotional tailspins of great significance, and even on this issue the rank-and-file of both parties seem almost to converge at the edges. Italian reaction thought the 1956 events in the socialist world would tear the progressive movement apart, but they seem only to have applied a temporary brake to its forward impetus.

Critical as he was at the SP congress of Soviet intervention in Hungary, Nenni spoke warmly of Poland and China and of "the men [in the U.S.S.R.] who will bring into reality the way pointed out by the 20th Congress." He insisted on further "deepening of the debate and telling the truth" to expose and end "the fetish of formal unity," but also on "standing resolutely in the camp of socialism without confusion and without conceding to the visceral anti-communism of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists." He placed "reunification with the Social Democrats as first order of the day"—but after making it clear that such terms as the Social Democrats now demand were unacceptable.

QUESTION OF HUNGARY: Perhaps because he left the delegates confused as to the SP's role if reunification proved impossible—as it so far has—the congress closed somewhat schizophrenically: Nenni retained the party's confidence as leader, but "Nenni's men" won only 26 of the 81 national committee seats. Meanwhile the Communists, who accuse him of taking "a very negative line" on the U.S.S.R., are encouraged to believe that CP-SP co-operation will continue on parliamentary, town council and mass-organization levels, on such vital issues as agrarian reform and a measure of security for the starving peasantry. (At the same time the Italian Communists' rigidity on the U.S.S.R., and reluctance to "de-Stalinize" or de-polarize, are admitted by Socialists to be distinctly less than any other West European CP.)

Among the peasantry, "Hungary" propaganda has been no more effective than anything else in shaking loyalty to the Left. The really serious problem, involving both of the Left parties which support the Marxist CGIL unions, is with the workers in such Northern industrial centers as Turin, Milan and Modena. There, in shop-steward elections held this month, the Catholic unions raised their vote to 50% from 21% in 1948, while the Marxist vote sank from 76% to 21%—below even the tally of the hitherto negligible Social Democratic unions.

THEY MADE MISTAKES: For this development the big industrialists' "paternalistic" technique of creating a "workers' aristocracy," in glaring contrast with the misery of the jobless and of millions of small-enterprise workers, has been largely responsible. Both Communist and Socialist leaders, however, admit that their unions have made frightful errors, such as demanding the same wage-raises in big and rich industries as in small and poor ones. The net result is that, as far as the fight for the workers nationally is concerned, all three union groups are becoming increasingly impotent — and "Hungary" smashed the SP drive for unity of the groups when success was within reach.

A CP spokesman admitted that peasant support of the Left is at present "much firmer" than that of the industrial workers. When I asked him if the peasantry must now be regarded as the chief instrument for bringing socialism to Italy, he said: "It would be difficult to reach that conclusion—it would change our whole theory of where our movement is based."

ITALY AND THE WORLD: Foreign policy, of course, remains a key issue for all of the Left; and here—although the CP chides the Nenni-ites for "seeming to imply that a workers' party should be detached from both the Soviet and the imperialist camps"—there is no basic divergence. The CP, indeed, has come closer to the SP line that even within the framework of the Atlantic Pact—granted that it becomes purely defensive, geographically limited and devoted to active neutralization—an independent Italian policy is possible. Socialists were encouraged at their congress when Aneurin Bevan told them this line was close to that of the British Labour Party, which could have a decisive influence toward an acceptable SP-Social Democrat agreement. But an SP spokesman said to me sadly: "I'm afraid the Labour Party is more concerned about British national interests than about those of the international working class."

My main conclusion from this brief Rome visit is that to the average Italian toiler Hungary is just as far away as to the average Ghanaian. The main question he asks is how he can get three squares a day. He knows by now who is not going to fight for him to get them. And he probably goes along with Nenni's statement to the SP congress:

"Socialist ethics are always the means and not the end—the end is the liberation of mankind. According to the words of Marx, 'Man is the highest creation of man'."

Senator Ervin's phony crusade

SENATOR SAM ERVIN, the North Carolina Democrat, for the twin purpose of confusion and delaying passage of the civil rights bill, has raised the legal argument that Southern juries should try cases involving civil rights.

The Department of Justice points out correctly that equity cases under an 80-year-old history of legal procedure are tried only by judges.

• • •

WE THINK it most odd that Senator Ervin never raised his voice in complaint when an Alabama judge was fining the NAACP $100,000;

Or when a Texas judge was issuing a temporary injunction to put the NAACP out of business in that state;

Or when a Georgia judge was sentencing the president of the Atlanta branch, NAACP, to jail;

Or when a Louisiana judge was issuing an injunction to outlaw the NAACP in that state.

In none of these trials was the NAACP granted the right of a trial by jury and Senator Ervin knows its counsel would have been hooted out of court if he had sought one.

• • •

BEFORE ELECTION to the Senate, Mr. Ervin was a member of the North Carolina Supreme Court.

Before him came on appeal four convictions of persons charged with contempt of court.

They had been tried by a judge and under North Carolina law were forbidden to ask for a jury.

Judge Ervin upheld all four convictions without even a whispered reference to his current loud crusade for "the historic right of trial by jury."

We think it's rather ironic that brother Ervin should wait until he is no longer on the bench to launch his phony campaign against judicial practices that are nearly a century old.

—Baltimore **Afro-American,** April 20

THREAT TO REVEAL SECRET TREATY

W. Germany in an uproar over scientists' Bomb ban

By Elmer Bendiner

POLITICIANS in many capitals around the world are still feeling the fall-out effects of Dr. Albert Schweitzer's appeal to stop poisoning the atmosphere with nuclear weapons tests and of the firm refusal by West German scientists to have anything more to do with the bombs.

In Bonn Chancellor Adenauer on April 17 summoned into conference some of the 18 rebel physicists who issued what the European press now calls the "Manifesto of Goettingen." Reportedly he reminded them of past commitments to do nothing to stand in the way of Germany's relations in the Western Alliance. But Prof. Werner Heisenberg, director of the Max Planck Physical Institute in Goettingen, held a trump card in the secret session according to the Paris daily **Liberation.**

NO NARROW APPROACH: Heisenberg reportedly threatened to make public the text of a secret protocol attached to the pact recently signed in Rome setting up "Euratom" and presumably dealing exclusively with the coordinated European development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The secret protocol reportedly provides that West Germany is to be a research center for nuclear warfare for the six signatory countries: France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

What went on behind the closed door meeting of politicians and scientists was unrevealed but it ended inconclusively. The final communiquè said: "The atomic scientists who took part in the talks wish to express the fact that it was not their main aim to exclude only the Federal Republic from the general fateful development, but that they wanted to take the initiative in preventing the fate which threatens the whole world. They believed that they had to begin their efforts in the state of which they are citizens."

THE BETRAYAL: The Goettingen scientists issued their manifesto only after they felt betrayed. Last January, Bonn sources said, they had received express assurances that their government would never ask them to work on weapons. Then came the "Euratom" agreement with its secret protocol, followed by Adenauer's announcement that the German army would be outfitted with nuclear weapons. The London **News Chronicle** on April 19 reported that the Ludwig Boelkow Works near Stuttgart was already turning out guided missiles.

The scientists' manifesto heated German politics to the boiling point. The West German Metal Workers Union called on "the whole working class" to back up "the courageous declaration" of the scientists and asked for a special all-union congress to oppose atomic equipment for the army. Congratulations poured in on the scientists from leading churchmen including Pastor Martin Niemoeller. The Social Democratic opposition made hay. Across the border seven East German scientists expressed their support.

ALL A RED PLOT: Adenauer, seeking a way out of a tight spot, considered joining the protest since he obviously couldn't lick it. He was reported preparing a statement that would endorse the Goettingen Manifesto (although he had previously denounced it bitterly) but also call on all the scientists of the world to take a similar stand. According to these reports, he was banking on a refusal or at best an equivocating position from Soviet scientists which he would use to justify a full-blown German nuclear rearmament.

The British struggled with their own scientists. Apparently unshaken by the recent declaration by the British Atomic Scientists Assn. that H-bomb explosions might produce 1,000 cases of bone cancer for every million tons of explosive power, Foreign Secy. Selwyn Lloyd dismissed it all as red propaganda: " . . . a good deal of the agitation against our test really does come from Communist sources which want to prevent Great Britain's emerging as a third nuclear power."

CAMPAIGN WIDENS: The Labour Party's **Daily Herald** commented: "Mr. Lloyd established a new low record for propaganda by a minister. Nothing so despicable has been heard from anyone holding public office. Mr. Lloyd's performance was calculated to make his audience believe he had overwhelming scientific backing for his brash confidence in the harmlessness of the tests."

The GUARDIAN's Cedric Belfrage reported from London that the Quakers held anti-test rallies and prayer services throughout England last month; the Assn. of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen and the Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers urged a "stop-the-tests" campaign; the Borough Council in St. Pancras, London, voted to shut down all civil defense activity as a "most cruel deception" in view of government admissions that "there is no defense against atomic warfare." Homeless families will move into CD headquarters.

A resolution at the Co-Operative Party Conference calling on Britain to take the initiative in halting tests and manufacture of nuclear weapons lost in a card vote by the narrow margin of 3,777,000 to 3,733,000. The London **Times** commented that the tight vote portended a major battle on the issue at the trade union conferences and at the Labour Party conference. Gordon Schaffer wrote to the GUARDIAN that the anti-test groundswell was significant "because the Labour movement is the alternative government and undoubtedly a policy of peace would sweep the country in a general election. But the movement against the tests and the reliance on nuclear arms is far wider than any political party."

PLAYING IT DOWN: Washington, too, was jittery, though it faced no such organized opposition from scientists, politicians or the public as did the statesmen of London and Bonn. Nevertheless, following the Schweitzer appeal, the Atomic Energy Commission turned out statements and speeches for three days running. Dr. Willard F. Libby of the Atomic Energy Commission released an answer to Dr. Schweitzer, the text of a speech given at the University of New Hampshire some time ago and another speech before the American Physical Society. The statements all made the point that the risks of fall-out from tests are scarcely greater than those incurred in a chest X-ray.

Dr. Charles Price, retiring president of the Fedn. of Atomic Scientists and head of the chemistry department of the University of Pennsylvania, in an interview with the **Worker** called the Libby assurances "a political rather than a scientific statement." He said: "There are absolutely no data that can lead to Dr. Libby's conclusion. Most scientists agree that these tests are harmful. There is plenty of data that suggest that the hydrogen bomb we exploded in 1954 harmed at least 10,000 people. Actually between 10,000 and 1,000,000 is the closest we can get on the basis of our present knowledge, to the number that are harmed by the radioactive fall-out of a bomb of that magnitude."

Nobel prize-winner Dr. Linus Pauling of the California Institute of Technology, addressing the Chicago section of the American Chemical Society, said on April 30 that if Britain explodes its bomb over Christmas Island, 1,000 more people will die of leukemia. He granted Libby's contention that effects of H-bomb tests were small in comparison to those of natural radiation but said: ". . . when you convert these effects to many people the number becomes large enough to anyone interested in human suffering to be concerned about it." Dr. Pauling predicted that if tests are carried out at their present rate they would add 200,000 born feeble-minded or with other defects in each generation.

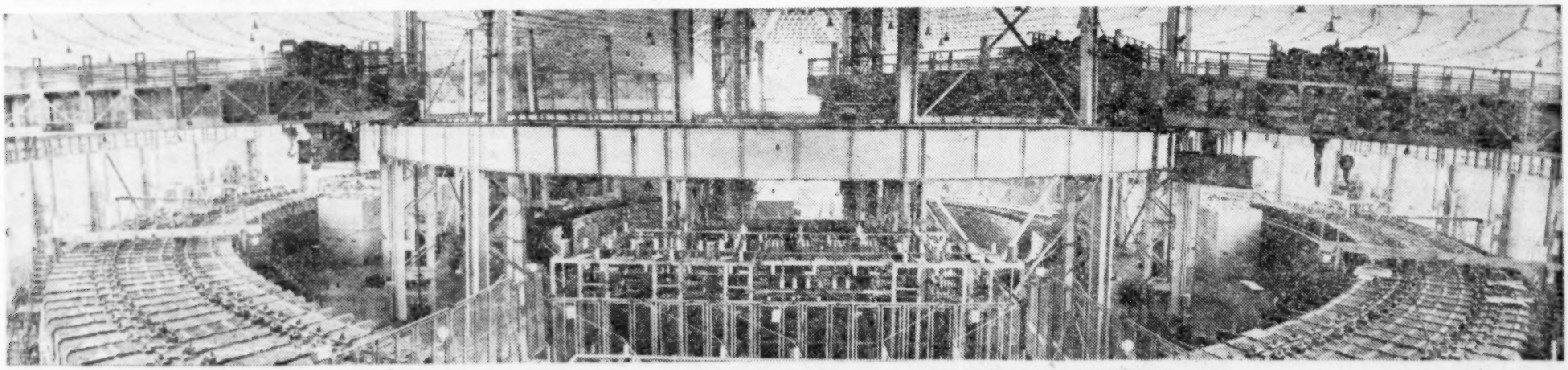
SWORD SWALLOWERS: Many U. S. newspapers swallowed Dr. Libby's tranquilizing statements easily. The **N. Y. Times** said on May 1: "The day that Great Britain explodes her first hydrogen bomb . . . will be a great day for Britain and for the free world . . . It should buck up British morale as few things have done since the war . . . Britain could be destroyed in a nuclear war. She will be less likely to face that danger when Russia knows that the British, without any help from outside, can retaliate in kind."

But not all of the nation's press adopted the **Times'** cheery view. The Washington **Post** on April 25 asked: "How much longer can the Administration turn a totally deaf ear to the mounting pleas for control of nuclear weapons tests? . . . Must the tests continue without any effort to limit them until everyone loses?" On April 27, commenting on Dr. Libby's assurances, the **Post** said: "Aunty-knows-best is scarcely a satisfactory answer when the consequences of error may be irremediable."

IKE'S GOLF: The N.Y. **Post** on April 30 asked: "At what point do new super H-Bombs simply reduce the arms race to grotesque absurdity?" Its editorial denounced those papers which accepted Dr. Libby's "comfortable last word," dismissing all contrary opinions as political. The paper said: "It is as if science had discovered a new proposition: scientists who agree with the Administration possess a unique capacity for political judgment; others should stick to their knitting."

On the press blackout accorded Dr. Schweitzer, the Madison, Wisc. **Capital Times** on April 26 said: "Some of the scientists who agree with Dr. Schweitzer and Adlai Stevenson have described this issue as the most important one ever faced by mankind. But to judge from the press of this country it is not as important as Dwight Eisenhower's difficulties with his iron shots."

IT SOUNDED LIKE A STORMY SESSION BEHIND CLOSED DOORS
Three of the 18 scientists arriving at Schaumberg Palace in Bonn to see Chancellor Adenauer. They are (l. to r.): Prof. Otto Hahn, Nobel Prize winner; Prof. Walther Gerlach, and Prof. Karl Friedrich von Weizsaeker.



BERKELEY TO MOSCOW: "NICE GOING BUT WAIT TILL NEXT YEAR."
When the Russians recently announced completion of the world's biggest atom smasher—called a synchrophasotron—it stirred no panic, only congratulations from top U.S. physicist Ernest O. Lawrence of the University of California in Berkeley. The Russian smasher will hurl protons about with a force of eight billion volts. U. S. models get up to 6 billion volts. Prof. Lawrence said world science would benefit by the Russian advance but added that Americans would soon have 25-billion volt smashers. The Russians said they would raise the ante by then to 50 billion volts. It was a friendly game. Synchrophasotrons are arenas for study of non-military atoms.

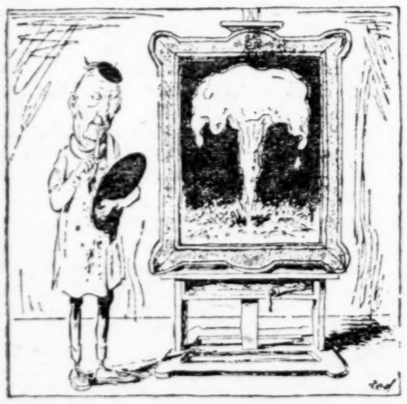
'Peace offensive'

(Continued from Page 1)

to the Soviet note—warning his government against atomic arms and proposing an agreement with the Western powers not to station atomic weapons anywhere in Germany—was a measure of the importance this question has assumed in W. Germany. It is fast becoming the major issue in the election campaign and the opposition Social Democrats were quick to subscribe to those terms of the Soviet note which concerned atomic arms. If the Soviet note was a propaganda maneuver, the Paris **Le Monde** reported (5/3), "it has already partially succeeded." It provoked hasty denials, contradictory declarations and great confusion.

Bonn denials that it possesses atomic weapons or has requested any "made strange listening," said the London **Times** (4/29), "for those who knew that American forces here are already partially equipped with nuclear weapons and recalled recent remarks made by Dr. Adenauer, [German Defense Minister] Strauss and indeed [NATO chief] Gen. Norstad on nuclear weapons and their delivery to the Bundeswehr [German army]." It is well-known in France, too, the **Times** added, "that the present state of development of tactical nuclear weapons is such that separation of nuclear-equipped forces of West and East by the entire breadth of Germany could reduce their effectiveness."

DEMILITARIZED ZONE: The agitation of the Adenauer government stems not only from the growing sensitivity of German public opinion to the atomic peril but also from fears inspired by the Soviet revival of the Eden plan to set up a demilitarized zone and area of limited armaments in Central Europe, specifically including Germany. This idea, originally proposed by Eden at Geneva in 1955, was advanced again by the U.S.S.R. last fall in its Nov. 17 disarmament proposals.


Neues Deutschland, Berlin

"And this, my work, I will entitle: German Landscape."

It even seemed for a time to have won some supporters in Washington, including disarmament adviser Stassen. At that time (last January) Adenauer startled friend and foe alike by announcing his "long standing interest" in a thinned-out zone. This was viewed as an election year maneuver and also as a gambit in Bonn's diplomatic games with Washington. In any event, Washington soon put a damper on discussion of the Eden plan and demoted Stassen.

. . . IN YOUR OLD KIT BAG AND HEIL, HEIL, HEIL

Lt. Gen. Hans Speidel (r.), Hitler's Brass, re-polished as commander of NATO's Central European ground forces, shown in Paris with U.S. Gen. Norstad, NATO chief, who thought he fought on winning side in World War II.

THE GAITSKELL PLAN: In March, however, Labour Party leader Herbert Gaitskell presented in Berlin an extended and elaborated form of the Eden plan. This "Gaitskell plan" was advanced just before Easter by Labour MP's to the Anglo-German conference at Konigswinter. There it met a mixed reception: opposition from British and German Tories who viewed it as a threat to NATO; and suspicion from German Social Democrats who oppose neutralization. In his letter to Macmillan, Bulganin again put forward the plan and it is notable that the British press, which has in general urged the government seriously to study the Soviet proposals, has pointed to the Eden plan as the most hopeful line of negotiations.

The result has been uneasiness in Bonn, which has also been watching nervously such signs of progress as there have been at the London disarmament talks; it fears that agreement may be reached between its allies and the U.S.S.R. at its expense. Bonn has been particularly distrustful of Britain, which it suspects of lending itself—under cover of disarmament—to an East-West accommodation on the basis of the division of Germany. The London **Observer** (4/27), referring to Adenauer's "unusually sharp rejection" of the Gaitskell plan, pointed to "the deterioration of West German-British relations" and the fact that British and W. German policies "are at cross purposes in many respects."

RED FACES AT HOME: The Soviet Union, together with Byelorussia and Rumania, has already ratified the International Atomic Energy Agency, originally outlined by President Eisenhower before the UN on Dec. 8, 1953. At the time this was hailed in the U. S. as a supreme Washington move to provide an international organization to promote peaceful uses of atomic energy. Now, however, the Eisenhower Administration is embarrassed to find the U.S. Senate reluctant to approve the Agency.

Added to this evidence of Moscow's desire to cooperate for peace, the new Soviet disarmament proposals are expected to give considerable momentum to the continuing Soviet diplomatic initiative. For the U.S.S.R. has now gone rather far toward acceptance of President Eisenhower's "open skies" plan.

Moscow has offered an open Siberia for an open Alaska and part of the American West. It has proposed opening up 2,770,000 square miles of Soviet territory to U.S. aerial inspection in return for allowing Soviet aerial inspection of 2,730,000 square miles of U.S. territory. Washington has criticized the offer as unbalanced on the ground that the U.S. would be opening up industrialized regions for the barren wastes of Soviet Siberia.

FAIR IS FAIR: Many experts on the Soviet Union, however, felt the offer was fair since, as James Reston reported (**Times**, 5/2), "the Soviet plan would permit U.S. planes to fly over some of the major areas from which Soviet planes would be likely to take off on any transpolar bombing attack on the U.S."

"The central, essential purpose of any mutual inspection of military facilities," Roscoe Drummond pointed out (**Herald Tribune**, 5/3), "is to minimize the danger of surprise attack [from] either side."

Hasty official Western arguments about the unacceptability of the new Soviet proposals are not likely to impress public opinion. As **Le Monde** (5/3) pointed out, "the general public has given to the Russian plan a much more favorable reception" than it has won from Western officials. The London **Times** (5/2) expressed what appeared to be a common reaction when it said editorially that the Soviet proposals "deserve careful study to see whether they cannot be matched by even more practical and far-reaching proposals on the Western side. There has to be a balance in arms but the world will be a a safer place if there is a balance at a lower level."

In the present period of change and uncertainty in Western Europe, lines of policy development are by no means clear; but the issue seems to be shaping up as one between NATO, with its nuclear emphasis, on the one side and neutralism on the other.

Special transportation for Prayer Pilgrimage

NAACP BRANCHES, church groups, unions and other organizations across the U.S. will converge on Washington in the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom this week by chartered planes and buses and by special trains and car pools. They meet on the grounds of the Lincoln Memorial at noon on Friday, May 17, three years to the day when U.S. Chief Justice Warren in 1954 read the unanimous Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated public schools.

The 50,000 or more in attendance will hear demands for enactment of pending civil rights legislation, protests against anti-Negro violence and terror in the South, and tributes to Abraham Lincoln's memory. Mahalia Jackson will sing gospel hymns; a 700-voice community chorus, joined by the audience, will provide additional music.

The Pilgrimage is under the general direction of co-chairmen Roy Wilkins, NAACP exec. secretary, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn. and the Southern Leaders Conference, and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and an AFL-CIO vice president. Travel suggestions and other information may be obtained from Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, 20 W. 40th St., New York 18, N.Y. (phone MOnument 6-6997).

Final insult

THREE WITNESSES in the pay of the Justice Dept. early this year swore away the citizenship of James J. Matles, director of organization of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

This month Matles, now appealing a denaturalization decision, got a bill from the Justice Dept. for $1,726.56—$525 for the testimony of Maurice Malkin, who was on the stand four days; $78.42 for Joseph Zack Kornfeder, five days; $421.14 for Ray Carlucci, who testified two days.

Carlucci is a labor spy; Kornfeder said he knew Matles as a Communist leader in 1925 (Matles came to this country from Rumania in 1929); Malkin is an admitted perjurer with a police record who has testified in some 50 similar proceedings as a paid witness. Denaturalization proceedings against Rose Chernin Kusnitz were thrown out in Los Angeles last year, largely because of the shakiness of Malkin's testimony.

FIRST IN 20 YEARS

United May Day rally attracts 1,500 in N. Y.

MAY DAY was only a shadow of its former self in the U.S. this year, but the shadow might be a portent of bigger and better days to come. A "Socialist Unity" celebration in New York—in which Communist, Trotzkyist and other speakers of varying socialist leanings participated—filled two halls with some 1,500 people and could have filled a third with the overflow. New York's Norman Thomas Socialists would not join in, but a similar meeting staged in Minneapolis by the University of Minnesota Socialist Club with Socialist leaders and others, sent fraternal greetings.

U.S. labor was conspicuous by its absence from the May Day scene, the only notable celebrant being AFL-CIO president George Meany who taped a speech for Radio Liberation to Soviet workers urging them to overthrow themselves. The N. Y. **Times** took a similar editorial tack, urging "freedom for the working class where it is most oppressed and most exploited: in the Communist slave empire that stretches from the Elbe to the Pacific."

West of the Elbe, in France, the nation enjoyed a paid holiday and in the area of the **Times'** concern, a million marched through Red Square in Moscow and a half million turned out in Peking to hear Mao Tse-tung and President Voroshilov of the Soviet Union. In Japan 3,000,000 demonstrated for international working-class solidarity and a ban on nuclear weapons.

McAVOY CHAIRMAN: At the New York gathering the Communist speaker, N.Y. State CP Chairman George Blake Charney, reported that the N.Y. press called him several times on May Day to ask if as an American citizen he was concerned by the display of military power at Moscow's May Day celebration. He replied that as an American citizen he was much more concerned over the maneuvers of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

The New York meeting was staged by the Committee for Socialist Unity, headed by Clifford T. McAvoy, former ALP leader and 1953 candidate for Mayor and a member of Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia's administration in the 30's. McAvoy chaired the main meeting of 1,000 and when a second hall in the same building, Central Plaza, was found necessary, noted civil libertarian Dr. Corliss Lamont agreed to preside there.

Both meetings heard the same speakers, who included also Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Labor Party candidate for vice-president in 1956; Dorothy Day, editor of the **Catholic Worker**; Bert Cochran, editor of the **American Socialist**; Rev. A. J. Muste veteran pacifist and a leader in moves for socialist unity; Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, John T. McManus of the GUARDIAN and Conrad Lynn, NAACP attorney who spoke on the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington May 17.

Earl Robinson, Bob Claiborne, singer Louise Jeffers and a chorus of youngsters entertained. Resolutions called for a ban on nuclear tests and weapons, an end to segregation, restoration of the Bill of Rights and agreement on withdrawal of troops of all nations from other people's countries.

Press forum May 17

ANGUS CAMERON, publisher; Monica Whately, Catholic journalist and lecturer; and James Aronson, editor of the GUARDIAN, will be heard in a symposium entitled "A Free Press in a Free World" Friday, May 17, at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av., at 8:30.

Miss Whately, who recently had traveled in Africa, will discuss "The Press in South Africa." Cameron, head of Cameron Associates, will speak on "The Powell-Schuman Case and Your Right to Know the China News." Aronson will discuss other aspects of press freedom and invite comment from the audience.

The Jordan crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

Agency for Palestine. Hussein cancelled the licenses of the newspapers of the political parties—already banned—and ordered the Arab Student Congress' Jordan branches dissolved.

THE REFUGEES FROM PALESTINE IN JORDAN
They shifted the balance in an already unbalanced area.

Hussein tried to balance his repressive acts by his statements at the press conference. Pale and nervous under the hot lights, he showed little of the much-publicized "boldness and fire." He was "obviously under wraps" as he answered questions submitted earlier in writing, and seemed "in a hurry to get it over" (**Wall Street Journal**, 5/1).

He denied U. S. interference in Jordan's affairs, but hinted he would be interested in American military aid. An American official later told correspondents such military aid was a "distinct possibility—it can't be ruled out."

ARAB FENCE-MENDING: Referring to Jordan's pact with Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia to maintain "positive neutralism" and cooperate against the "common enemy", Israel, Hussein said: "Jordan will never depart from the principle of Arab nationalism laid down on Feb. 27 at the Arab Big Four conference in Cairo." He categorically opposed the Eisenhower Doctrine.

"The temper of the country," the **Associated Press** reported (4/30), was underscored by Hussein's statement because, "to accept the Eisenhower Doctrine or to speak out against the Arab nationalism personified by Egyptian President Nasser would be an invitation to new disorders."

Jordan has been going through the same revolutionary nationalism that has been sweeping the rest of Asia and Africa. It is an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution; to call it Moscow-inspired or a conflict between communism and capitalism is immature and dangerous.

THE GLUBB DAYS: The British carved Jordan artificially out of the carcass of the Turkish Empire and built it into a strategic military base. They placed on its throne the Hashemite Abdullah, who came from the Hejaz, which had been gobbled up by Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. An economic monstrosity, the country was subsidized by Britain. Its primitive Bedouin tribesmen, "relatively untouched by modern political ideas" (**N. Y. Times**, 4/28), were organized into the Arab Legion and coddled into loyalty to Britain by Gen. Glubb. Under the stringent control of the Legion, the population remained insulated from any fresh political air.

Things changed progressively after the Palestinian war, when King Abdullah annexed a sizable territory on Jordan's west bank, inhabited by 400,000 Arabs, whose number swelled to nearly a million by the influx of refugees from Palestine —outnumbering the original Jordanians by two to one.

COUNTRY GROWS UP: The Palestinian Arabs were more sophisticated and politically alert, educated in the school of direct colonial rule by Britain and impressed by the modern ideas brought in by the Israelis. Their influence inevitably undermined British control and feudal conditions, leading to the ouster of Gen. Glubb, severance of the British tie and the establishment of the popular Nabulsi government which Hussein dissolved last month.

A political struggle began in the Arab Legion as Palestinian Arabs joined it, with the Bedouins, "for years agents of British influence in the country" (**Times**, 4/28), remaining loyal to the King.

Contrary to the way the West has pictured him, Nabulsi, as the London **Observer** said (4/28), "is not a Communist or even a fellow-traveller or extreme Socialist. He was Finance Minister under King Abdullah, and is not a jumped-up new man." The London **Times** said: "There should be few illusions about Nabulsi's popularity. He is the accepted spokesman of the Arabist ideal and of the emergent middle class."

The Jordanian crisis was not precipitated by a signal from Moscow or Cairo. Its antecedents were "certainly domestic," as the **Observer** said, evolving over a period of years "in the same direction as those of Syria and Egypt—a progressive eating away of the privileges of the feudal ruling class by a radical group of middle class lawyers and small businessmen, who seek to seize power by an alliance with the Army." This group is "the most articulate and best organized political force speaking for" the Jordanians today (**Wall Street Journal**, 5/3).

GOOD GREY BOA: The evolution of Arab national consciousness cannot be halted by a mixture of American bribery and 19th century gunboat diplomacy, trying to maintain feudal rulers like Hussein and "taking up where the British left off" (**Wall Street Journal**, 5/1). "The U. S. is no more likely to be successful than we were," British Labour Party leader Aneurin Bevan said, since it cannot be assumed "that Cadillacs are more popular than Rolls-Royces out there."

Hussein can still buy some time, as Joseph Alsop said (**N. Y. Herald Tribune**, 5/3), "by adhering to a posture of genuine neutrality." The biggest danger threatening the King at the moment, according to Alsop, "is the public embrace of the American State Department," appearing in "the nightmare form of a star-spangled boa constrictor with the good grey head of John Foster Dulles . . . advancing on the young King with relentless affection." Hussein himself seems aware that his days may be numbered; for he keeps his Vampire jet fighter plane at the tiny Amman airfield "on the ready against the possibility [he] might have to flee his kingdom on a moment's notice" (**Times**, 4/28).

Which way did the wasp go?

DOWN GOES MENON.—Waspish Krishna Menon, Mr. Nehru's filibustering UNO spokesman and mentor of Nasser during the Suez crisis, was moved from foreign affairs in an Indian Cabinet reshuffle today. He gets what Indians pretend to regard as a junior post—the Ministry of Defense . . .

—New Delhi dispatch in London **Daily Express**, April 18.

V. K. Krishna Menon was named today to take charge of the Ministry of Defense . . . one more rung climbed in [his] swift ascent up the Indian governmental ladder.

—N. Y. **Times** dispatch from New Delhi, same day.

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Monica Whately British journalist and lecturer describes the press in South Africa

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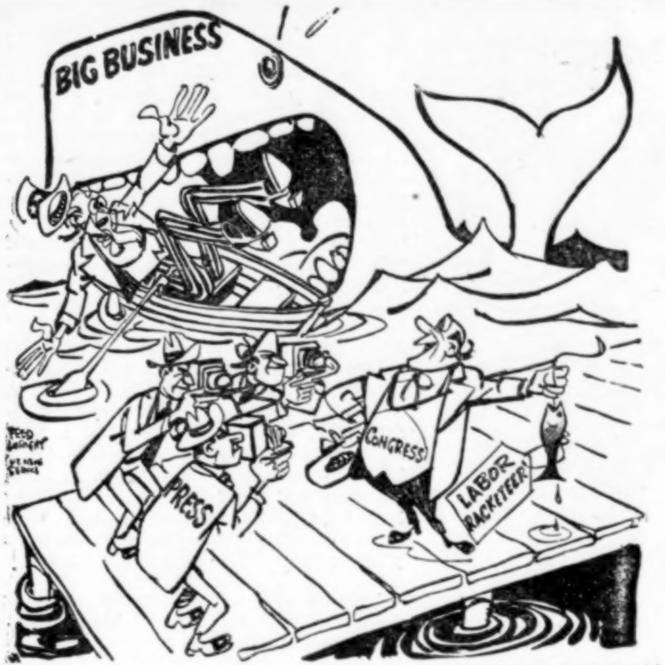

Drawing by Fred Wright

"Yes, I know, uncle . . . but that just isn't news"

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California Labor School closing

THE California Labor School of San Francisco, a 15-year-old educational institution which has enjoyed wide support among trade unions, academicians, artists, professionals and liberals, will cease operations with the close of its spring term in mid-June.

The closing was announced May 3 by Holland Roberts, educational director of the school for the last 12 years and director since 1950. The action was taken, he said, because "in America today, justice is tempered with money, and we find it financially impossible to appeal to the courts" from a recent ruling of the Subversive Activities Control Board that the school is Communist-controlled. Roberts said:

"Incredible as it seems, bigots and their paid informers have been able to smear our school to its grave. What has happened here occurs within the framework of repression for all American schools and educators. Death of the School has meaning far beyond the circle of its mourners. Millions are uneasy, asking if absolute commercial control of education bodes good or ill for our nation; if the right to teach and to learn must forever be censored; and if government repression of schools expresses the spirit of the Founding Fathers.

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The finding against the school was made by SACB member Francis Cherry as the result of hearings conducted by him in San Francisco over a year ago. Adoption of his views by the full board is considered to be a mere formality.

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Socialist Workers Party Presents:
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Speaker: Murry Weiss, editor International Socialist Review. Sat., May 18, 8:30 p.m. 52 Market Street.

New York

CLUB CINEMA, the friendly nightclub at 430 Sixth Av., presents May 11, **LEA AND GIA WALLACE**, puppeteers and pantomimists, in a Mime and Dance Program with Puppets, featuring "Petrouchka." Entertainment at 11 p.m.; open at 8:30. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **GUY CARAWAN**, folksinger from Calif.

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The Militant Labor Forum Presents:
Saturday, May 11, 8:30 p.m.
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BOOKS

Report on Spain

THERE ARE SOME AMERICANS who dare not recall the days, 20 years ago, when they dropped a nickel in a tin can being shaken for Republican Spain. There are others who did more but remember those times as the last fling of youth before they put on the gray flannel suit of cynical detachment.

There are no history texts that do justice to the anti-fascist spirit that swept the U.S. from 1936 to 1939. When the rebel general Francisco Franco Bahamonde first struck at the legal government, he had few sympathizers in the U.S. except for the lunatic fringe and for those Catholics who saw a conflict touching their faith. The strangling policy of non-intervention by the U.S., which in the end doomed the Spanish Republic more surely than the troops and planes of Hitler and Mussolini, stemmed less from a fascist sympathy than from a cantankerous isolationism.

After two decades isolationism is all but gone from U.S. life—but so is much of the anti-fascism. Where once we gave Republican Spain our sympathy but no arms, no food, no bandages for her wounded, we now give Franco little sympathy but millions of dollars, arms, credits and food. Only a fraction of that help would have meant the survival of the Spanish Republic.

TRUTH WITH PASSION: When many Americans hung on the latest word from Madrid as if it spelled their own fate, the dispatches of Herbert L. Matthews in the **N. Y. Times** were seized upon as the best available truth: accurate but unashamedly, passionately on the side of the Republic.

Now, 20 years later, Matthews has produced a book* which takes a long look backward at the Spain he came to love while it lay in agony, and another look at Franco Spain as he has seen it lately. Matthews has no regrets for what he wrote during the war, no apologies to make for his partisanship or for the pride he felt in the presence of 5,000 of his countrymen in the International Brigade. Writing from the front he called them "the finest group of men I ever knew or hope to know in my life." In his present book he writes:

"The International Brigade formed a unique phenomenon in modern history. To those of us who were there, who knew the men, who saw them fight and die, they brought a glory and enrichment to the life of our times. The record was later blurred and smeared by the hysterical form that anti-communism took after the Second World War, particularly during the horrors of McCarthyism in the United States, but history will set the record straight."

NO MORE WAR: This is not a book of nostalgia, nor of war memoirs seen through two decades of haze. It is a book of solid, sensitive reporting. The stark poverty of Spain today, the dead hand of church and police in the schools, the corruption and bureaucracy, the feudal farmland where history has been stopped—all this has been reported before. Matthews notes a slight improvement with the coming of U.S. aid, but describes a deadlier factor in Spanish life that is Franco's strongest support: the almost universal revulsion at the thought of another civil war. The little Caudillo who sits on the lid is not loved, even by those who work for him. He is not "simpatico" and therefore not fully Spanish in the eyes of Spaniards. He is there because there seems to be no alternative, without war.

Matthews does not call Spain a police state. "The prevailing tone . . . has been apathy and tranquility, but everyone says what he pleases." The Spaniard, of course, cannot say it too publicly or organize anything that is not expressly authorized by the Caudillo, but he has what Mussolini called the "jus murmurandi," the right to complain. In all armies the troops are allowed to grumble, and the Generalissimo runs Spain like an army.

The Spanish haze is lifting, says Matthews, and Spaniards see in front of them only the gigantic, ornate tomb which Franco has prepared for himself. That is his future, but he has provided no other for Spain. Franco has allowed no other leaders to rise and no one expects a king, whom Franco may designate, to be able to hold Spain together. There is no machinery for the future, which may account for the reluctance of some Spaniards to move toward it.

A KEG OF DYNAMITE: Anarchism is dead in Spain and communism holds a slim foothold among students who rebel at what passes for education, Matthews writes. But there is a "bias for liberty" among the Spaniards who, he says, can rise overnight in unpredictable storms born of desperation and a passion for freedom: "Spain today is like a keg of dynamite; there is no spark but it has plenty of explosive power."

Two decades have not compromised Matthews' honesty or his liberalism. What defects there may be in his vision today were there 20 years ago, along with the over-all excellence of his reporting eye. He saw history then and sees it now in terms of the liberalism of the French Revolution. Matthews' concept of the world as engaged in a struggle of liberalism vs. absolutism or totalitarianism ignores class history almost completely and leads to certain astonishing conclusions. Using the Rights of Man as a criterion he finds communism close kin to fascism. He writes approvingly that the U.S. showed it had learned the terrible lessons of non-intervention in Spain by intervening in Korea. His 18th Century principles lead him to state flatly that Spain's hope after Franco lies in the blossoming of its middle class, which he identifies with freedom, progress and enlightenment.

But Matthews' book is not primarily concerned with Korea or communism or his philosophy of history. These are all arguable. His reporting, his honesty, both of convictions and observation, his passion for decency are unarguable. So, too, is his ability to write exciting, enduring journalism.

—Elmer Bendiner

* *THE YOKE AND THE ARROWS by Herbert L. Matthews, George Braziller, Inc., N.Y., 203 pp., $3.75.*

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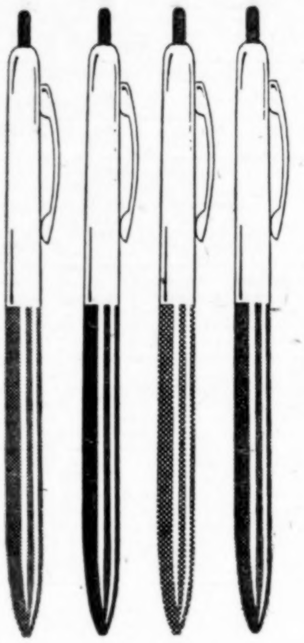

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Manifesto to Madison Av.

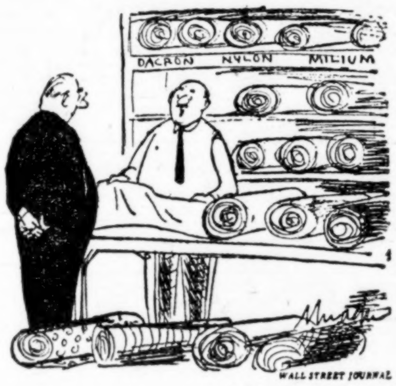
IN THE PAST, I have always been proud to be an American consumer. If Duz did it better, I dutifully duzzed. If nothing but nothing got white clothes whiter than Whiting, I blanchfully bought. When the Organization's anthem was played, I stood up and reverently sang the chorus:

"That in our fair land
Brand names shall ne'er be banned."

So it is with the greatest reluctance that I now confess that, from this time on, I shall sit down.

The campaign for brand names has gone too far. I refer to the current car-cards that announce "Nine Out Of Ten Women In This Bus Are Wearing Brand-Name Bras." Here is my public declaration that even if I am called before the Congressional Advertising Committee, I shall refuse to tell what brand — if any — I am wearing. I consider it to be strictly a private matter between me and my sweater. They may bully me all they can: "Come now, we know it's a Breathinbra! The saleslady turned in the label to one of the Committee's informants!" My lips shall remain sealed.

Badger me again: "You were seen three times in the last six months at the Balibra counter." I shall not be moved.



Wall Street Journal

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Turn on the wheedler's charm: "Ah, she's the Goddess type, or most likely, Maidenform." They will not brawash me. There is still the secret ballot. I shall elect to be supported by whatever I choose. And if they decide to stigmatize me by proclaiming that I am the outcast tenth woman who does not wear a brand-name bra, I still will not talk.

(Off the record, I will say that I have had more than a fleeting acquaintance with Flexees. Back in the days when it was fashionable, I wore them for three years. Even persuaded a few of my friends to, but then I became disillusioned. The construction was too rigid, allowed no room for personal expansion. But that's my own affair.)

So I am ready to face the future—sober-eyed and unafraid. Though I may never count again as a statistic in a survey, there are other joys that will unfold themselves to me in life. And I will not always have to be an outsider. Sooner or later, others will join me. Even as I write this, there may be someone who is muttering surreptitiously: "Leave my taste-buds alone." And in another remote region, yet one more heretic calls out: "Winstons taste good AS a cigarette should."

If this be coffier coffee, I stand my grounds.

—Eve Merriam

SAN FRANCISCO

THIRD ANNUAL NORTHERN CALIFORNIA Guardian Banquet

SATURDAY, MAY 18, 7 P.M.

MART CLUB, 1355 Market St., San Francisco

SPEAKERS:

KUMAR GOSHAL

"The Middle East—Is Peace Possible?"

SIDNEY ROGER, M.C. DAVE JENKINS

AND

AN ACTOR'S WORKSHOP GROUP PERFORMING

Sean O'Casey's one-act comedy, "Pound On Demand"

JUDY JOB & GLORIA UNTI—Jazz Dances

RESERVATION $5. Call TH 5-8963. Make checks payable to Isabel Van Frank, 2134 Grant Street, Berkeley 3, Calif.
In San Francisco call Flora Smith, UN 3-2243